



IRISH COURT-MARTIAL BILL.

Westminster, 3. April, 1833.

THIS bill was read a third time, and passed, last Friday night, 29. March. But it was not passed without a last effort to prevent its passing. When the motion was made for reading the bill a third time, Mr. CLAY, one of the members for the *Tower Hamlets*, made a speech against it; and declared his intention to oppose the passing of the bill; but having made no motion upon the subject, I thought it my duty to make one, which I did in the words, the very stinging words, which have been reported in all the newspapers, which ought to be upon record; but which, for reasons too numerous and too tedious to mention, I by no means think it necessary to insert in this *Register*. Before this agitating motion was made, we seemed to have got into too tranquil a state to suit me. I began to think that the thing was to end by a few complimentary words pronounced across the table; but I was extremely happy to perceive that my motion put an end to all compliments. The debate became one of the most lively that I had witnessed; and it ended with a speech from Mr. O'CONNELL, well worth all the time that we had taken in listening to others. It was the finest speech I ever heard in my life; and I really did wonder how it was possible for any man to hear that speech, and not feel indignant at the treatment which Ireland has received; and not being ready to suffocate with

rage against all professions of "*kindness and generosity*" coming from those who approve of this unheard-of and undreamed-of measure.

I had no desire to do anything more than to send this bill off marked with my last word of disapprobation. The bill had been modified in the committee: it had taken away some of the powers of the *courts-martial*; the committee had taken the crime of *libel* away from being tried by these *red-coat courts*: it had done several other things; but still it was too hateful to me to be suffered to pass without a last blow against it. My motion, which was, as I said before, a *stinger*, concluding with a proposition to read the bill a third time that day six months. I did not say a great deal; and what I did say was not very good-natured; and, therefore, I will insert no part of it here, being extremely unwilling to do anything calculated to sour the temper of my readers, or to make them discontented with his Majesty's amiable servants. At the end of this lively debate we came to a division, when there appeared

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I had set out with saying, that I did not care a straw whether anybody divided with me, except my honourable colleague, and I was, sure that he would. This was, however, the very thing upon which to put the House to the test with regard to this bill. All that had passed before might admit of *explanation*; but, we had now got it to be such as it would be, when it became a *law*, and, therefore, it was now necessary to ascertain *who those members were, who approved of a law like this*, and who were those who did not. The question was, who were the men that approved of *courts-martial instead of judges and juries*; and who were the men that disapproved of this. After this preface, I give the list of the minority of eighty-eight; dividing them



into English, Irish, Scotch, tellers, and pairers-off.

ENGLISH.

Aglionby, H. A.—Cockermouth
 Attwood, T.—Birmingham
 Bayntun, S. A.—York
 Bellew, R. M.—Louth County
 Blandford, Marquis of—Woodstock
 Brotherton, Josh.—Salford
 Bulwer, E. L.—Lincoln
 Bulwer, H. L.—Coventry
 Clay, W.—Tower Hamlets
 Cobbett, W.—Oldham
 Ewart, W.—Liverpool.
 Faithful, George—Brighton
 Fancourt, Major—Barnstaple
 Fielden, John—Oldham
 Fryer, Richd.—Wolverhampton
 Gaskell, Daniel—Wakefield
 Grote, George—London
 Gully, John—Pontefract
 Halford, H.S.—Leicester County
 Hall, Benjamin—Monmouth
 Handley, Benjamin—Boston
 Hawkins, J. H.—Newport
 Humphery, John—Southwark
 Hutt, William—Hull
 Ingilby, Sir W. Bt.—E. Lincoln County
 Langton, Col. G.—E. Somerset County
 Molesworth, Sir W., Bt.—East Cornwall
 Palmer, General—Bath
 Parcott, Jasper—Totness
 Phillips, Mark—Manchester
 Richards, John—Knaresborough
 Roebuck, J. A.—Bath
 Romilly John—Bridport
 Romilly, Edward—Ludlow
 Scholefield, J.—Birmingham
 Stormont, Viscount—Norwich
 Strutt, Edward—Derby
 Tennyson, Right Honourable C.—
 Lambeth
 Torrens, Col. R.—Bolton
 Turner, William—Blackburn
 Tynte, C. J. Kemys—West Somerset
 County
 Wigney, Isaac N.—Brighton
 Wilks, John—Boston
 Williams, Col. Geo.—Ashton
 Warburton, H.—Bridport

IRISH.

Baldwin, D. H.—Cork
 Barron, W.—Waterford
 Barry, G. S.—Cork County

Butler, Hon.-P.—Kilkenny County
 Chapman, M. L.—Westmeath County
 Daly, James—Galway
 Dan O'Connor—Roscommon County
 Finn, W. F.—Kilkenny
 Fitzgerald, Thos.—Louth County
 Fitzsimon, C.—Dublin County
 Fitzsimon, N.—King's County
 Galway, J. M.—Waterford County
 Grattan, James—Wicklow County
 Lalor, Patrick—Queen's County
 Lynch, A. H.—Galway
 MacLaughlin, L.—Galway
 Macnamara, Major—Clare County
 Martin, J.—Sligo
 Nagle, Sir R. Bart.—Westmeath
 County
 O'Brien, C.—Clare County
 O'Connell, Daniel—Dublin
 O'Connell, Maurice—Tralee
 O'Connell, Charles—Kerry County
 O'Connell, John—Youghall
 O'Connell, Morgan—Meath County
 O'Connor, Fergus—Cork County
 O'Dwyer, A. C.—Drogheda
 O'Reilly, William—Dundalk
 Perrin, Louis—Monaghan County
 Roche, William—Limerick
 Roche, David—Limerick
 Ruthven, E. S. Dublin
 Ruthven, Edward—Kildare County
 Sheil, R. L.—Tipperary County
 Sullivan, Richard—Kilkenny
 Talbot, J. H.—New Ross
 Vigors, N. A.—Carlow
 Walker, C. A.—Wexford

SCOTCH.

Gillon, W. D.—Selkirk, &c.
 Oswald, R. A.—Ayr County
 Oswald, James—Glasgow
 Wallace, Robert—Greenock

Tellers.

Hume, Joseph—Middlesex
 Grattan, Henry—Meath County.

Pairers-off.

Bowes, John—South Durham
 Cornish, James—Totness
 French, Fitzstephen—Roscommon Co.
 Wood, Alderman—London

Now, the reader will perceive, that there were four hundred and thirty-three members present: the list of the majority will scarcely be published;

but, the rule of the Gospel ought to be the rule here: namely, "*Those that are not for us are against us.*" It is the duty of every member to be in his place upon such an occasion: the question was, whether a precedent should be established for trying the King's subjects by *red coats* instead of by judges and juries. Upon such a question a man must be clearly for one or for the other; and, therefore, unless in case of illness *proved*, or leave of absence *obtained*, the people have a clear right to conclude, that every member of the House who was not in this minority of eighty-eight, was on the side of the red-coat courts of justice. This is the light in which to view the matter. Here were no hairs to split. We all clearly understood what we were about: and the people will clearly see what we did upon this occasion. The citizens of London, for instance, will see, that two of their members were against the red-coat affair; and they will also see, that two of their members did not vote against the red-coat affair. I believe the list of the minority to be perfectly correct. Plenty of time has been given between the taking of it and the publishing of it. We all gave our names upon slips of paper, to one of our body who stood at the door as we returned into the House; so that there cannot very well be an error; but if there should be, I shall be extremely happy to correct it in the *Register*. It should be observed, that the four members who paired off, are not included in the eighty-eight; so that there were ninety-two members of the House against a law, which is to substitute military men for judges and jurors. This is the first public act, worthy of any attention, of this "*reformed Parliament*" and this "*reforming*" Ministry. It reads an awful admonition to the people of this kingdom, who will do well to reflect seriously upon it, and to prepare themselves for changes and events, of which it must be deemed to be the inevitable forerunner. It is impossible for any man precisely to foresee that which will take place before the close of the terri-

ble drama now acting in this kingdom; but every man may be *preparing* for very awful changes and events, and making provision beforehand, as far as he is able, so that he and his family may not, at any moment, be left destitute of bread. There is no telling what is to be proposed to us next, and no guessing at what the Parliament will do; but every man of information must see, that the elements of a great struggle are all gathering themselves together; and such man will not be deceived by outward appearances, and particularly by the *majorities* which the Ministers have had at their back. To outward appearance, in this scene of dissipation and squandering, all is prosperity, all is solidity, all is durability. So it was the very day that NOAH entered into the ark: so it was in France, only one month before the country mansions were in flames, and the *noblesse* either killed, or driven to seek safety in foreign lands. I shall not continue this subject any further at present; but, certain I am, *that one of two things must take place: the taxing system must give way; or there must be a government of sheer force.* We see not the smallest disposition to give up one single farthing's worth of taxes: on the contrary, we see, that the taxes are actually augmented by a mode of collection more severe than any that ever was before resorted to; and, for my part, I do not perceive any apparent intention in any considerable number of persons in Parliament, to compel a reduction to be made in any department whatsoever. They *talk* of the necessity of taking off taxes, but oppose every effort to prevent the granting of supplies; and the Ministers lull themselves in the hope of being able to carry the thing along in just the same manner in which it has been carried on and brought to the present dreadful state. In this state of things all that I, as the author of this *Register*, can do, is to *warn my readers of their danger.* Paper-money is a thing of so ticklish a nature, that it may be annihilated in an hour: it is, in fact, mere wind: it wholly depends upon

public opinion, or rather, upon public delusion. An exposure of its intrinsic worthlessness, and a dissipation of all the errors entertained regarding it, must and will take place before the end of this session of Parliament: all the notions of all the wild projectors will be blown into air; and that Bank of England, which has been a successful bubble for a hundred and twenty years and more, will be laid as bare before the eyes of the people, as any piece of timber lying by the way-side. Hitherto, there seems to have been a sort of tacit convention amongst the members of Parliament, not to say or to do anything tending to dissipate the delusion which has been entertained with regard to this bank. In this respect the reform of the Parliament will have produced a great change. There are men put into the House of Commons by this reform, *who will be parties to no such tacit convention*. Men who think, and, indeed, who know, that paper-money is an evil and a curse; and from these men the people will learn to what degree they are in danger, and what measures they ought to take to provide against that danger. Precisely how many months or weeks, *assignats* might last, it would, perhaps, be difficult to say. I cannot positively say, that *assignats* will be tried; but I can positively say, that the present system cannot go on for any length of time. If the *assignats* come, then the affair will assume a *decisive character*; and every one will feel, in some sort *instinctively*, that the END is at hand; just as you see cattle and fowls, and particularly the latter, come and bustle about, and begin to get away to their shelter, long before we two-legged animals without feathers can hear anything of the thunder that is coming, or see anything of the lightning. When that time comes (and I think it is likely to come about next November), the Ministers will have something else to think about than Coercion Bills for Ireland; and about keeping in force stamp and auction taxes. In short, in six months after the storm shall come, even we, who

have been actors in the scene, shall hardly be able to bring ourselves to believe in the reality of what we have beheld. I remember, that I had, for several years, a French COUNT, who bound books for me, in *Dean-street, Soho*; and a very good bookbinder, and a very pleasant man, he was; and I wish, with all my heart, that I could say as much of all other *Counts*. I and my readers may laugh at this; but it is no laughing matter for *some other folks* that I could name. This was the COUNT DE CAUMONT, who had been fool enough to make a stand for the *Roi* and the *Lettres de Cachet* in 1788; and who, for that reason, had been pursued by the country people and driven out of France. His wife and daughter had the good sense to mount the tri-colour cockade, and to repudiate the count: and being "*de bonnes Sansculottes*," were suffered to remain and keep the Count's estate; so that, when Louis went back, the Count found himself upon clover. There is nothing like women for looking after the main chance; and, if you observe, they never look upon *bank-notes* as *money*. Ah, my God! how happy would it have been for England, if it had been governed by the wives and daughters of ministers instead of the husbands and sons!

Some very important matter was brought before the House of Commons on Friday, the 2. of April, by my hon. colleague, Mr. FIELDEN; whose speech upon the occasion has been reported in the newspapers, but so very imperfectly, that I must take care to give the true account here. The subject is, beyond all measure, the most important that has been brought before the House; and it is but justice to the House to say, that it appears to have made a very great impression upon it. He was heard but very imperfectly in the gallery, which arose, in a great measure, from those feelings, which, at times, almost stifled his voice altogether. He was born and bred amongst these

poor people; he is personally well acquainted with their sufferings; and in spite of his efforts to overcome them, his feelings overpowered him very frequently during the recital, than which nothing more heart-rending ever found its way to the ears of mortal man! And, it is from these meritorious and suffering persons, is it, that we take their earnings, to keep up *Museums* for the pleasure of loungers, and to supply pensioners and sinecure people with gilded chariots to ride in! Blood mingled with tears cry from the earth, and say, that this cannot go on.

Mr. FIELDEN presented a petition from Hebden-bridge and its vicinity, praying for the repeal of the Septennial Act, for the liberty of the press, and the adoption of the ballot; also, a petition from Wingham, in Kent, praying for a House of Commons more suitable to the dignity of the assembly and the important business that is transacted there; and this he (Mr. F.) recommended to be referred to the committee now sitting on that subject. The hon. Member then presented three petitions, coming from the township of Todmorden and Walsden, praying for the repeal of the stamp-duties on newspapers; the repeal of the duties on malt, hops, and soap; the repeal of the Septennial Act, and the adoption of the ballot; also, a petition from Padiham, Lancashire, complaining of distress, and stating that the township contains a population of 3,529 persons, and that 246 families, or altogether 1,381 persons, had been visited in January last; that all of these, capable of work, excepting four, were in full employment; that their average income in wages only amounted to *one shilling and ninepence and three-eighths of a penny* a head per week; that the rent, fuel, light, and repairs of the implements on which they work, amounted to *sixpence and one-eighth of a penny* per head per week, leaving these poor persons only *one shilling and threepence and one eighth* per head per week for food and clothing. The hon. Member stated, that this was one of those townships of Lancashire where

hand-loom weaving formed a principal branch of the employment of the poor, and was one of those comprised in the survey of thirty-five townships, of which he (Mr. F.) had circulated the result, and should take an opportunity of placing a copy in the hands of every hon. Member of the House to-morrow morning. The petitioners stated further, that the whole sum received by these poor persons in poor-rate, amounted to no more than ten pounds eight shillings and twopence halfpenny a week. The petition was most respectably signed, having the names of the clergyman of the established church of the place, of the churchwardens and overseers, and most of the respectable persons in the township, affixed to it. Mr. Fielden presented another from Blachinworth and Calderbrook, complaining of similar distress; and the hon. Member stated, that a great proportion of the poor persons in this township were in the employ of himself and his partners; and the allegations contained in the petitions he of his own knowledge knew to be true. The income, for food and clothing, which the families visited in this township received for each person for one week, was only *one shilling and sixpence*, that is, for food and clothing; and the poor-rate distributed amongst them amounts to only one pound seven shillings and fivepence; that out of 1,011 persons visited in this township, there were only three out of employ who were capable of working, the others being in full work. The hon. Member here observed, that several hon. Members had at divers times expressed doubts as to the truth of the extent of the distress which he had represented to the House. He regretted exceedingly that such doubts should be entertained, because it was calculated to prevent inquiry, and to delay, if not defeat, a remedy for this distress. What had been stated by him was either true or false; and if hon. Members residing in the neighbourhood where this distress was represented to exist, would take the pains to inform themselves on the subject, as he (Mr. F.) had done, he was satisfied they would arrive at the same

conclusions. The hon. Member then presented petitions from Langfield, Marsden, and Barrowford, complaining of similar distress; also one from the forest of Rossendale, embracing eight townships enumerated in the survey to which he had before alluded, and one petition from the township of Haslingden, all complaining of the same distress. Upon these the hon. Member remarked that the inhabitants of these townships are engaged in the manufacture of silk, of cotton, and of woollen; the petitions were most numerous and respectably signed, having the names of all, or nearly all, the ministers of the established church in the several townships, the churchwardens and overseers, many respectable professional men, and many of the most respectable manufacturers and tradesmen in the district from which they came, and he could assure the House that the petitioners were labouring under the severest distress. To show the wretchedness of these poor people, nearly altogether in full employ (a fact which should not be forgotten, and which was the worst feature in the case, because it was not want of employment, but want of adequate wages for that employment), he could not refrain from reading a letter which he had received from a respectable dissenting minister, though in humble life, in which is described the privation and suffering under which they labour. [The letter was as follows]:

"The distress we have witnessed in taking this survey is almost inexpressible. Had I not been an eye-witness of the state of the labouring poor therein contained, I should not have credited their wretched and miserable condition. In some families of six, seven, or eight in number, we find only one bed, and a lap or two of straw. The mistress of one family in particular, of seven in number, said they had only one blanket, and that nearly worn out, and nothing for the cradle, except an old cloak; the clothing of a large number of them is not worth more than six or eight shillings, and one or two years' rent behind; the nauseous smells

"and the miserable aspect of some of the inhabitants are truly distressing, and many there are that say they have not the means of procuring soap either to cleanse themselves, or what should be their linen. We are conscious that we have not under-rated their income, nor exceeded their number.

(Signed) "EDWARD ASHWORTH.

"P.S.—Potatoes to dinner—half a pound of mutton fat served five meals for five in a family, thin oatmeal porridge for breakfast and supper—bedding and clothing miserable—little children in the cradle, only straw to lie on, and covered with a cotton fent."

The hon Member digressed for a minute to explain that this "cotton fent" is the remnant of the web, at the end of every warp, which is about a yard in length, and is the customary perquisite of the weaver: it is, in short, a yard of cotton calico. Mr. Fielden next presented a petition from Castleton, the town of Rochdale being partly situated in this township, and the manufacture there is flannel, woollens, and cotton, but principally the two former, complaining of similar distress, and stating that the earnings of the working people only amounted, after the reduction necessarily incurred, to one shilling and a penny and seven-eighths of a penny per week for each individual of the families visited, for food and clothing; that, of 2,427 persons visited, there were only 77 persons capable of work who were out of employ. The others were in full employ. The hon. Member here remarked that he was glad to see the hon. Member for Rochdale (Mr. Fenton) in his place, and he would hand over the petition to him, in order that he might bear testimony to the respectability of those who had signed it, there being the names of many of his best friends attached to it. The hon. Member then presented petitions from Spotland, Wardleworth, and Wuerdle and Wardle, all situate in and near Rochdale, complaining of similar distress; and he went on to state that it was worthy of observation that the work in which

these poor people were engaged was of a description which had not much competition from power-looms, and, therefore, the argument that power-looms caused the distress could not bear upon this subject, and was, indeed, here shown to be untrue. Mr. Fielden presented another petition from the township of Blackburn, signed by seven persons who had made the survey before alluded to, which stated that the township contained a population of 27,091 persons; that 1,738 families, containing in all 9,772 persons, had been visited by the petitioners; that there were only 452 persons capable of working but what were in full employment; that the total weekly wages of the families visited amounted to 828*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* a week, being an average of one shilling and eightpence and three-eighths of a penny for each person: that the average rent for each person amounted to three pence and five-eighths of a penny per week, and fuel, light, and other indispensable outgoings were threepence-halfpenny per week; these two last items being sevenpence and one-eighth, which, being deducted from one shilling and eightpence and three-eighths (gross income), left only one shilling and a penny farthing for food and clothing for each individual for one week, in the 9,779 persons in the families visited by the petitioners; that the parish relief received amongst the families visited amounted to no more than 24*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* per week, upon which the hon. Member observed that he had received a letter from a most respectable professional man in the town of Blackburn, stating that the petitioners, who had made this survey, were men of respectability in their situations of life, and that he believed that the examinations had been carefully made, and were as correct as it was possible to get up such returns. Mr. Fielden regretted that any attempt to discredit these statements should have been made, for he believed them to be substantially true. He had taken great pains to inform himself on this subject, both amongst those he himself employed and others in similar employments. In giving directions for these surveys, he

had desired the parties to visit those families only whose average income from wages for the whole of the family did not exceed two shillings and sixpence a head a week, and this had been in most instances observed, but in some cases departed from; and there was one which now came to his mind that he could not help adverting to, that was the township of Trawden near Pendlehill, in Lancashire, where the visitors had given the result of the survey of almost all the families in the township. The population is 2,851, and there were 2,480 persons, six-sevenths of the whole number in the township, whose average income per head a week, applicable for food and clothing, did not amount to more than twopence-halfpenny per head a day, and that the whole of the families visited were in full employment. It was lamentable to him (the hon. Member) to have to detail an account of such distress; he knew how painful it was to hon. Members to hear such statements repeated in the House, but, believing them, as he sincerely did, to be true accounts, the subject appeared to him to be so important and so worthy of the serious attention of the legislature, that if he did not make these representations, however unpalatable, he should be guilty of the grossest dereliction of duty. He would only observe, in passing, that he had laboured, for many years, to prevent this reduction in the value of labour, but without success; he and others had petitioned this House over and over again. In 1829, he and a number of other manufacturers, had, through the medium of Lord Stanley, sent a memorial to Mr. Secretary PEEL, detailing the distress which had been then of many years standing, but instead of receiving relief, soldiers, with their accompaniments, were sent down, and consumed the food which was so much wanted for these poor people! This distress, had been, by some, denied, and the argument used was, that the hands employed in mills were better paid for their labour. But this was no answer to rebut the fact of this distress amongst these poor persons. It was true that

those families employed in mills did receive better wages, but it should not be lost sight of that for one person employed in mills, he (Mr. Fielden) believed that there were three, at least, employed in this other description of work, which was so inadequately paid for; and the operation was this, that the price for labour in mills was being fast reduced to the wages received by those out of the mills. He and his partners had innumerable applications from persons working for masters who paid less than themselves for mill-hands, not because they were out of work, but with a desire to get into better employment. Indeed two or three hours a day were frequently taken up by one or other of his partners in giving answers to such applicants. In one mill, near to the works of himself and partners, the proprietors got a certain description of work done at five shillings, for which he and his partners paid seven, at least, and the effect would be that they would be compelled (as they had already been in hand-loom weaving) to adopt the prices of those who paid so much less than themselves, or otherwise abandon their business; for it was impossible to contend successfully against such competitors, and thus the wages of mill-hands would be brought to a level with the labour performed in the cottages of the poor, instead of the wages of the latter being advanced to the wages paid in mills. The petitioners all stated, that the value of their labour had been reduced, as measured in the necessaries of life, more than one half since the close of the war, and they all prayed for a reduction of the necessaries of life to the altered value of their wages. He had now presented those petitions which had already come into his possession, of about twenty townships comprised in the result of the survey which he had promised to put into the hands of hon. Members tomorrow morning; and he would now read to the House the result of that survey:—"That in thirty-five townships, the population is 203,349. The families visited are 8,362. The persons in these families, 49,294, being nearly one-fourth of the whole. The num-

ber out of work in the families visited, is 2,287. The number unfit for work in the same, is 23,060. The number of workers is 23,947. The total weekly wages which the families visited earn, are 4,447*l.* 18*s.* This sum will give for each of those who work, a weekly average of 3*s.* 8½*d.*; and for each of the whole number of persons visited, a weekly average of 1*s.* 9½*d.* The rent paid by the families visited is, per annum, 32,693*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* This sum gives an average of 3*d.* a week for each individual in the families visited. Fuel, light, and wear of implements, will be an average for each individual of, at least, 3½*d.* a week; and this, with the average rent of 3*d.* being deducted from 1*s.* 9½*d.* the average income of each individual, leaves for food and clothing for each individual for a week, 1*s.* 3½*d.* The whole parish relief given weekly to the families visited, is 139*l.* 7*s.*, or for each five-eighths of a penny. And the average income of each for a day, for food and clothing, from both wages and relief, is 2½*d.*" Mr. Fielden next presented a petition from Thomas VEVERS, Christopher TINKER, and George Beaumont, of Huddersfield, confirming the account of the distress in that neighbourhood which he (Mr. F.) had stated on a former evening to the House. The petitioners stated that, since the examination made in 1832, the wages for merinos, cassanetts, and woollen cords, had been reduced; that the suffering amongst the poor was extreme; that many hands were out of work, that the poor had to sleep upon straw, and to live upon potatoes and oatmeal and water, which they had aptly called "tremblers," being a composition of oatmeal and water boiled, and which is a little thicker than water-gruel, but not of a consistency to be called porridge; that some of them scarcely ever tasted animal food, now-and-then, however, obtaining an onion, which they considered a luxury. The statement of the distress at Huddersfield had been denied by the hon. Member for Huddersfield, who was reported to have said in his place in this House, that

there were very few persons in that neighbourhood who earned less than two shillings a day, and most of them earned three shillings a day. It no doubt was true, that those employed in mills in that district, were better paid than those employed at their own homes, but the number of the latter far exceeded that of the former, who might be distressed, to the extent described, while the former were better off. He therefore expressed his doubts as to the correctness of the information of the hon. Member for Huddersfield; for he had had the accounts which he (Mr. F.) had given of this distress corroborated by many other individuals, and by the result of a partial survey, taken in February last, by which it appears that there are 120 families, containing 621 persons, whose weekly income does not exceed fourteen-pence and seven-eighths of a penny per week, when the necessary expenses these families have to pay, are made, will reduce their income for food and clothing for each individual to *tenpence per week*, or less than *three halfpence per day*; and which went to confirm the allegations of the petitioners, as well as the statement of Mr. Stocks, on which he (Mr. F.) founded his account given to the House on an early evening in the present session, and which he would now read to the House. Mr. Stocks's statement was, that an examination had been made in 1829, and it showed that, out of a population of 29,000, there were 13,226 who had only an average of twopence-halfpenny a day for subsistence. The hon. Member then read what Mr. Stocks gave him in writing in January last, namely, "That the condition of the above population is worse at the present moment; and it is believed that the average at present would not exceed twopence per day for all expenses; and that it is believed that 40,000 are in the above condition in the upper division of Aggbrig, containing 103,384 inhabitants." The hon. Member then said that these statements were appalling; they were either true or false; and it behoved the hon. Member for Huddersfield, and the Members for the West

Riding of Yorkshire, to make inquiry, and to satisfy themselves and this House, whether such distress did exist; and he hoped that during the recess, they would make particular inquiry on this subject; for it was one to which too much attention could not be given by hon. Members of this House. If the condition of the labouring poor, who should be the consumers of their own productions and the productions of others, could not be improved, it threatened a dissolution of society. He begged to apologize for the time that he had occupied the House, but what he had stated to them appeared to him to be so important, that he trusted he should be excused for having done so. In concluding he would read to the House the result of a visit to a number of families near Huddersfield, made by Captain Wood in March, 1832.

Scamonden township.

1. Benjamin Sykes—Family seven; weekly income 7s.; live upon potatoes and thin water-porridge; no bed-clothes; clothes worn out; and nearly naked; rent 36s.

2. James Clay—Family seven; in one room, $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards by 5; rent 34s.; all sleep in one bed; the room holds their loom also; income 6s. per week; never any bread or animal food.

3. Mary Sugden—Family of three; weekly income 1s. 9d.; sleep in corner of loom-room, on straw laid on the floor, without covering except the rags they wore in the day-time; no furniture.

4. William Lamb—Family four, weekly income 5s.; live upon potatoes, and salt, and thin water porridge; no milk, cannot afford to pay for it; no bread nor meat; has wove 160 yards, and travelled 48 miles, for 16s. 4d.

5. Hannah Parkin, widow—Four children, (left with child, and now incapable of working); income 4s. 6d. per week; live on oatmeal porridge, without milk, or anything else; no furniture of any kind, except bedstead. When asked, replied "don't know how they live." The poor woman distracted, and children in great want; at present receiving 2s. per week from the parish.

6. James Bailey—Family seven; weekly income 5s.; live on a little oatmeal and water; all sleep in one bed; no blanket.

7. Joseph Sykes—Family of four; weekly income of 4s.; all in one bed and one blanket; almost starved to death at night.

8. James Dyson—Family four; weekly income 3s.; all in one chaff bed, with one blanket; his wife lately confined, and all the nourishment she had was oatmeal and water.

9. William Bottomley—Family nine; rent 3l.; which had just been distrained for (landlord in possession of all); weekly income 9s.; (2s. 6d. from parish) for which he has to go to Rochdale, twelve miles; labours fourteen hours per day; three beds of straw, with only one blanket in the house; it is nine years old. These wretched beings live on thin water porridge; they have one gill of milk for breakfast, which the mother mixes among the porridge; for dinner, potatoes; bread never seen in their houses; meat unknown.

Visited about twenty other houses, where the same scenes of misery were found. We took the houses at random. Scamonden has 912 inhabitants, and at least two-thirds will be found in this situation.

A most important feature (showing the hopelessness of their situation), that there was abundance of work, and "more," they said, "might be had, if they could find time to do it." A man can earn about five shillings, clear of expenses of winding, per week. Out of which he has rent, clothes, and keeping to provide; and in this district a man has generally eighteen miles to walk with his work.

Mr. Stocks, who led me to these scenes of wretchedness, assured me that a population of about 40,000 may be found in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, of the poorest class, whose daily income will not average 1½d. for each person. The visit was made March 1832.

JOSEPH WOOD.

List of the townships from which Mr. Fielden presented petitions on the 2. April, 1833.

Wardleworth,
Castleton,
Spotland,
Wuerdale and Wardle,
Marsden,
Langfield,
Blackinworth and Caldenbrook,
Padiham,
Blackburn,
Barronford,
Forrest of Rossendale,
Haslingden,
Huddersfield.

Mr. FIELDEN, in reply to Mr. G. W. WOOD, said that the best answer to the hon. Member for Lancashire was contained in a letter which he received yesterday, and which contained a report of a speech of Mr. GEORGE SMITH who was chairman of one of the committees for securing the return of the Right Hon. POULETT THOMSON. It spoke for itself, and, without saying one word more on the subject, he would only detain the House while he read it.

Speech of Mr. Geo. Smith of Manchester, at the election dinner to celebrate the return of Mark Phillips, Esq. and the Right Hon. Powlett Thomson, as representatives for the town of Manchester, on the 28. December, 1833.

On the health of the working classes being drunk at the above-named dinner, Mr. Smith rose and spoke as follows:

"Being extensively connected with the working classes, I beg leave to reply to that toast. Our house employs certainly upwards of one thousand of those miserable beings, the hand-loom calico weavers, and we pay all this host of work-people with from 250l. to 300l. per week, probably an average of about 5s. 6d. per head per week, (cries of shame, shame!); and lest you should think that our house is fattening on the vitals of those poor people, I will state to you a fact which I would not otherwise have stated, namely, that the last year our house manufactured and sold 200,000 pieces of hand-loom calicoes. We conducted our business with as much economy as possible. We made no bad debts, and yet, at the year's end, we had not

"gained an average profit of a penny per piece. I mention this to show you that all that can be afforded to the weaver is given to him."

FACTORY BILL.

My readers know that Mr. SADLER brought in a bill to prevent children of too tender years from being worked for more than ten hours in the day in the divers factories. A great part of the masters are opposed to this bill: and PATTEN, STANLEY's colleague for North Lancashire, has been chosen by them to make opposition to it. The opposition was made last night (Wednesday), in a motion for delay in order for further inquiry. A very great part of the members are gone out of town. When the House divided, there were seventy-four for the delay, and seventy-three against it, the Ministers taking part with PATTEN. I was compelled to be absent on account of a hurt in my knee, which makes it necessary that I should not sit with my leg down for a long time together. If I had been present there would have been only a tie; as it was, there was a majority of one. If there had been a full House, I am by no means certain that the majority would not have been greater in proportion. My colleague was present, and did his utmost to prevent this delay.

My readers should rightly understand this subject. These children attend upon machinery; and the longer the machinery goes in every twenty-four hours, the more the master gets. The masters cannot compel the parents to let their little children work thus; but, the parents are compelled by their necessities; those necessities arise from taxation; therefore, here we come again to the source of all the evil. The Ministers oppose this bill, because they believe that it will diminish the source of taxation by causing less goods to be made. They will continue to oppose it, I dare say; and I think it very probable that it will not pass into a law. For my part, I know that there is no

remedy but in taking off the taxes; but still these poor children ought to be protected, let the consequence be what it may; for that which is inflicted on them now, is really very little short of murder by inches.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THERE has been a sort of report from these people, in the form of a letter addressed to Lord MELBOURNE. I always said, that the main object of this commission was, to muster up a parcel of stories from people, picked out for the purpose, to justify more severe measures against the working people; and to introduce, under pretence of protecting property, a sort of *Bourbon police* into all the villages and country towns; a police in uniform, carrying daggers and pistols, like those in London. I have mentioned this several times in the House of Commons; I saw that dirty FEELER, the base and hard-hearted editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, broaching this scheme, some time ago. I was sure that he was in communication with those who had the intention to do this thing. Why, they have had an armed police in Ireland a good while. They have had what they call a "constabulary force;" "a police force;" "a red-coat force;" and now they have got red-coat courts of justice. There are people who think, that the same thing will do in England; I see no prospect of its not being attempted; but I know that it will fail: that is to say, I know that it would produce confusion ten thousand times greater than that which is sought to be avoided. Already there are watchmen kept to guard the great mansions in the country; already do policemen scour off from London to assist those horrible vagabonds, the gamekeepers in the country. The aristocracy and country gentlemen, as they call themselves, would, I verily believe, jump with joy to get the police-force; for this would serve them as watchmen and gamekeepers, and be paid for by the industrious

people. Thus, the *potato-diet* (and this ought to be called the potato-commission) would be, as these wiseacres think, completely enforced. The fact is this: the country labourers insist upon not being starved. They have the means of preventing their starvation, and the police-force is to deprive them of those means. Alas! it will never do! it will only bring open war; and it is truly astonishing, that the aristocracy cannot see, that the end of these things, if they should be so foolish as to adopt them, must be *destruction to themselves*. It is a strange thing, that they will not look at the *cause* of the poor-rates, and the fires. It is a strange thing, that they will not recollect what took place in France; that they will not perceive that they are marching just in the steps of the aristocracy of *Louis XV.* They had *gendarmarie* in every village; and yet, while these *gendarmarie* were in the villages, still in the villages, they were driven from their mansions, and those mansions were burnt. Is it not time for ours to begin to think of the final consequences? Is it not time for them to begin to think about obtaining security other than that which is given by daggers and pistols? The people want to live well, as they ought to live; and until they do live well, no *gendarmarie* schemes will be of any avail for any length of time. It was easy to see what this poor-law commission would be, when we saw *STURGES BOURNE* one of the commissioners! That which they have now published is a little beginning. It lets out, however, the scheme of the *gendarmarie*; and puts us upon our guard, and enables us to give it a *warm* reception. This I, for my part, shall not fail to do. Our aristocracy ought to recollect, that there are two items in *their affair*, which make it more dangerous than the affair of the French *noblesse* was. *FIRST*, they had *no church-and-poor property in their hands*; they had no lay-tithes and abbey-lands in their hands; and, what is of still more importance, they had no savings banks and paper-money. They had a *debt*, indeed; and it was that which, in fact, brought them down;

but they had no bank with a *few hundred thousand louis-d'ors in its chests, with twenty-six millions of pounds afloat in paper!* They had not this terrific item; and, even only three years before their houses were in flames, their chance of escape seemed not to be so very bad. Our aristocracy has a terrible affair to deal with; therefore, it is time for them to begin to think about something besides a *gendarmarie*. I shall have plenty of occasions to return to this poor-law-commission affair; but I shall only find it that which I expected; abounding with schemes, not to make the poor better off, but to make them receive less money in the way of relief.

SEEING the oppressions which we endure; seeing how small a share of the taxes is paid by the aristocracy, and how large a portion of them they receive, it appears to me, that this is the great evil of the country; we have seen the game laws hardened to a degree that our fathers never could have dreamed of; we have seen the new trespass law, and the new Highway Acts, almost deprive us of the right of setting our feet upon any part of our country; we have seen the trial by jury in great part laid aside, as far as related to the offences of the common people; we have seen our property seized by the tax-gatherers of various descriptions, and by tithe-gatherers, and taken from us without any trial by jury; we have seen our property taxed most enormously by stamp and auction duties, while the landowners have escaped those taxes, and while we have been compelled to pay pensions and sinecures to support the families of this aristocracy. In short, we have seen ourselves ruined, pressed down, one after another, into a state of pauperism; and now we behold schemes for establishing a *gendarmarie* to compel us to submit in silence to all these wrongs. What, then, are we to do in such a case as this? What are we to do in our own defence? It appears to me, that there ought to be established an association

under the following title, and for the following objects :

DEFENCE ASSOCIATION;

Or, an association for protecting tradesmen, and other the industrious classes, against all unconstitutional encroachments of the aristocracy.

To be established in London, with a chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary.

To correspond with all parts of the kingdom; and to receive statements of acts done towards the industrious classes, which would be proper subjects of representation to the Parliament.

To give advice upon the subject, and obtain redress where that is possible.

To receive statements relative to all acts of oppression, particularly relative to the game, the excise, the stamps, and the assessed taxes; and in all cases to be very particular in giving the names of the parties and the places of their residence,

To obtain, in reference to the direct taxes, an accurate list of the names and places of residence of all the great landowners in each county; to ascertain, as nearly as possible, when each of them came to his estate, and whether he got it by purchase, heirship, or bequest; and also to ascertain the *probable worth of it*; and also the probable amount of timber, underwood, and stock, sold by auction on the said estate, within the last thirty years, in order that an estimate may be made of what would have been the amount of auction and stamp duties on the said estate, if the stamp and auction duties had been levied thereon in the same manner as on personal property; and, the time it would be material to state, in order to calculate the *interest* which the landowner has derived from not having had to pay these duties.

To cause to be printed, upon a small piece of paper, and at a very cheap rate, a true pedigree of every great landowner, showing how much of the public money he or

any of his relations have received, not omitting his predecessors for three or four generations; showing how he came by his estate, and particularly showing what men, women, or children, appertaining to him, are or have been on the pension or sinecure list, and to cause a sufficient number of these papers to be circulated amongst the industrious classes in *his own immediate neighbourhood*; so that we may all know one another well.

To get the names of all the justices of the peace in the several counties, and to ascertain whether they be receivers of *tithes* or of *taxes*, and to what amount.

To ascertain, as nearly as may be, the amount of the lay-tithes, of the *abbey-lands*, of the *college* property, of the *bishop's property*, and of the *dean and chapter property*, in each county; and also of the *corporation* and *public charity* property; and to ascertain in whose hands each parcel of this property is. The association might take care to furnish lists of the *abbey-lands*; and the correspondents would inform them in whose hands they are, and the worth of them.

There are divers other things to mention of a most interesting nature. I throw out this merely as a hint for others to improve upon. This is the sort of "*commission*" that is wanted; and I would call it the "*Reckoning Commission*;" for it is absolutely necessary that we begin to make up our accounts, and to *have them ready*. It would be a sad thing for us to be taken by surprise. When we all know one another well, we shall easily arrange matters quietly, we shall easily come to an "*equitable adjustment*."

PETITIONS PRESENTED BY ME ON THE 1. OF APRIL.

1. From the mayor, aldermen, common council, burgesses, and other electors and rate-payers of the town and borough of Kidnely, in the

1. county of Carmarthen, praying that the Irish Coercion Bill may not pass, and praying that the real cause of it may cease, namely, the cruel exaction of tithes.
2. From the electors, rate-payers, and inhabitants of the county of the borough of Carmarthen, expressing their alarm at the introduction of the Irish Coercion Bill, and praying the House not to pass it, also praying that justice may be done to Ireland, and that the English may be no longer taxed to collect Irish tithes.
3. From the electors and rate-payers of the towns and borough of Saint Clears and Pentre Llanfhangel, in the county of Carmarthen.—The same prayer.
4. From Preston, in Lancashire, agreed to at a public meeting called by the mayor, praying that their Irish brethren may not be subjected to a military law.
5. From the city of Norwich, praying for repeal of taxes, and that no more blood may be shed to compel payment of tithes in Ireland.
6. From the parish of Callan, county of Mayo, praying that the Coercion Bill may not pass.
7. From the parish of Muhar, in the county of Kerry, praying they may not be degraded by subjection to military law.
8. From the inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets, praying that the Coercion Bill for Ireland may not pass into a law.
9. From the parish of Kilvine, in the county of Mayo, beseeching the House not to pass the horrible bill which is to enable a few military officers to transport them for life.
10. From the city of Ely, for the repeal of the assessed taxes.
11. From Chipping Norton, for the repeal of some of the present taxes, and for the substitution of a regulated property-tax.
12. The petition of Timothy Hutt and Mark Anthony Johnson, praying for a repeal of taxes, and against coercive measures for Ireland.
13. The petition of James Hamson, of Thorne Falcon, complaining of the dreadful pressure of local taxation.
14. The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Manchester, praying for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge.
15. Petition of James Dunn, Esq., of Gray's-inn, barrister-at-law, complaining of certain proceedings of certain magistrates.
16. Petition of William Blaxland, of Leamington, against the longer existence of tithes.
17. From Joseph Townsend Holman, of Gray's-inn, praying that a law may be passed to authorise the defendant, in cases of libel, to produce the truth in justification.
18. Petition of R. Webb, of Harcourt-street, Marybonne, praying for a repeal of all the taxes on knowledge.
19. Petition from the borough of Ly-mington, in the county of Hants, praying for the adoption of the ballot at elections.
20. From the society of Free Inquirers, in the parish of Marybonne, praying the House to adopt measures, so that all persecutions for religious opinions may cease, and that it will take into its consideration the hard case of the Rev. Robert Taylor.
21. A petition from the same, praying the House to adopt measures to put an end to all religious persecutions, and to take into its consideration the hard case of Richard Carlile.
22. From the undersigned inhabitants of the borough of Manchester, setting forth the numerous evils attending upon making laws at midnight, and praying the House to alter its present practice as to this matter.
23. From the undersigned inhabitants of the city of Norwich, against white slavery; setting forth the state of degradation and misery in which the working classes now are; setting forth the injustice of paying in gold the interest of a debt contracted in paper; setting forth the

injustice they have endured from laws passed by the aristocracy and its nominees; setting forth the injustice of the tithe system; praying for that equitable adjustment for which they prayed in the year 1623; praying that a bill may be passed to give protection to electors at future elections; praying for a repeal of the taxes which most oppress the working people, and praying that no supplies may be granted until these measures be adopted.

24. From the inhabitants of Eccleshill, in the county of York, praying the House to pass the Ten-hour Factory Bill.
25. From the frame-work knitters of Blasford, in the county of Nottingham, praying the House to take their hard case into its consideration, and to afford them relief by those means which the petitioners very respectfully beg leave to be permitted to suggest.
26. From the working classes and others of the borough of Great Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk, describing the horror they feel at seeing their Irish fellow-subjects subjected to trial before red-coat courts of justice, and praying the House not to pass any bill having that object in view.
27. From the members of the Political Union of the borough of Clitheroe, in the county of Lancaster, praying that their Irish brethren may not be subjected to a government wholly unknown to the constitution, and also praying the House to repeal the odious and unjust *Corn Bill*.
28. From the inhabitants of Spitalfields, praying that the Martial-law Bill for Ireland may not pass, and praying the House to adopt just measures towards those who have proposed it.
29. From James Peters, of the city of Bristol, against the proposed bill for new laws relating to the keeping of the Lord's-day.
30. From the inhabitants, electors, and rate-payers in the borough of Llanelli, praying the House to reject

the horrid bill for coercing Ireland, and for compelling the people of that ill-treated country to pay tithes at the point of the bayonet.

31. From the council, associates, and friends of the Northern Political Union, in public meeting assembled, praying for the enactment of the vote by ballot at elections for members to serve in Parliament; and for a repeal of the unjust and odious Septennial Act.
32. From the inhabitants of the hamlet of Lea, in Lancashire, praying the House not to pass the Martial-law Bill for Ireland, and praying it to impeach those who had dared to propose it.
33. From John Martin of Canterbury, complaining of the abuses of the law by attorneys, and praying for an alteration and a simplifying of the law, in order to render justice more cheap.
34. From Thomas Parkin, complaining of the conduct of certain magistrates, praying for redress.
35. From a public meeting of the national union of the working classes, held at the White-Conduit House, against the Irish Coercion Bill.
36. From the inhabitants of Oldham, praying that coroners' courts may be in future open public courts, and that the transactions therein may be fair.
37. From the undersigned inhabitants of Manchester against the Irish Coercion Bill.
38. From the labourers of Stoke-holy-cross, in the county of Norfolk, setting forth the real causes of their poverty and misery, praying for redress therein, and praying also that their Irish fellow-subjects may not be trampled under foot.
39. From the inhabitants of Cong, county of Mayo, against the Irish Coercion Bill.
40. From the inhabitants of Manchester, against the Military Law Bill for Ireland, signed by 15,000 persons.
41. From the inhabitants of Anghavass,

- county Leitrim, against the Military Law Bill.
42. From the members of the political union of Jedburgh, against the Irish Coercion Bill.
 43. From the inhabitants of the town of Eye, Suffolk, against the Irish Bill.
 44. From the inhabitants of Rose Garland and Inch, county Wexford, the same.
 45. From the inhabitants of the town of Lismore, the same.
 46. From the inhabitants of Lymington, in Hampshire, the same.
 47. From the inhabitants of Neyharth and Lisbony, praying for the abolition of tithes in Ireland.
 48. From the Norwich Political Union, against the Irish Coercial Bill.
 49. From the inhabitants of Johnston, in Renfrewshire, against the same.
 50. From the members of the Pollockshaw Political Union, praying for triennial Parliaments.
 51. From the burgesses of the borough of Denbigh, setting forth abuses of their corporation, and praying for redress.
 52. From the members of the Political Union of Kilburny, county of Ayr, praying that the Irish Coercion Bill do not pass into a law.
 53. From the inhabitants of Botley, county of Southampton, describing the alarm and horror which they feel at the bill for trampling Ireland under foot, and saying that they verily believe that this measure is nothing but a stepping-stone for introducing the same into England, and praying that the bill may not pass.
 54. From the members of the Political Union of Chowbent, against the bill, and against tithes.
 55. From the inhabitants of Hammer-smith, against the bill.
 56. From the National Political Union, praying that the Irish military-law bill may not pass, till the petitions against it have been presented.
 57. From Thomas Wilson, complaining of injustice done him by the officers of the customs, and praying for an investigation of his hard case.
 58. From the inhabitants of Tonbridge, county of Kent, praying for a diminution of taxes, for an extension of suffrages at elections, and also praying that the Irish Court-Martial Bill may not pass into a law.
 59. From certain members of the National Union of the Working Classes, praying that their burdens may be lightened, and that they may be treated fairly by the Parliament and the Government.
 60. From Richard Newsham, soldier of the 53d regiment, complaining of unjust treatment, and praying the House to investigate the grounds of his complaint.
 61. From the inhabitants of the town of Clare, Galway, praying that the bill which is to take from them the protection of trial by jury, may not pass into a law.
 62. From the Protestant Dissenters of Oldham, in the county of Lancaster, praying that their places of worship may be exempted from taxes and rates, in the same manner that the established church is; praying, that the registration of baptisms and burials may be so altered, as to make it convenient and just with regard to them; and praying, that they may not be compelled to have the marriage ceremony with regard to them, performed in the established church; also praying that they may be exempted from paying rates to the established church.
 63. From the members of the council of a society calling itself the National Political Union, assembled at Saville House, Leicester-square, March 23, 1833, complaining that the whole of the taxes are partial in the extreme; that they are made to fall upon the industrious classes and to spare the rich; praying for the repeal of all the taxes that press on articles of consumption; and praying that, if a great amount of taxes were still necessary, they might be raised by an equitable property-tax.

64. From James Webber, woolcomber, at Collumpton, in Devonshire, praying that all useless places, unmerited pensions, and all sinecures, may be abolished: praying that the taxes may be taken off from the necessities of life; and praying that no foreign king may receive a pension, drawn from the labours of this country.
65. From Stewart Bowman, hairdresser, of Long-lane, in the city of London, humbly representing to the House, that he and his brother tradesmen, already borne down by taxes of various descriptions, would be utterly ruined if the House were to agree to the bill now before the House, for the better observance of the Lord's-day; representing to the House that the performance of their business on a Sunday is absolutely necessary for the decent appearance of people at places of Divine worship; and imploring the House not to pass the said bill.
66. From James Rothwell, late a soldier in the 1st regiment of Royal Dragoons, complaining that, after having served faithfully in the said regiment for four years, and having received three dreadful wounds, and having been discharged with a pension, has now had that pension taken from him; and praying the House to be pleased to interfere in behalf of himself and his suffering family.
67. From the inhabitants of Wingham, in the county of Kent, complaining of the partiality of taxation, particularly with regard to the stamp duties and duties on auctions, which they say are so frequently partial and unjust.
68. From John Templar, of Lymington, in the county of Hants, complaining of the gross and crying partiality of the stamp taxes, and setting forth how he and his family have suffered by those taxes, and praying the House to do justice in the case.
69. From Thomas Cliffe, of Bradford

(signed on behalf of a great number of the inhabitants), complaining of the weight, partiality, and oppression of local taxation.

70. From Joseph Sload, of the town of Sheffield, in the county of York, praying that the House will not grant citizenship to the Jews; stating, that these people do no useful thing, but live by usury, craft, and cunning.
71. From the inhabitants of the parish of Kilfirn, in the county of Mayo, praying that the House will not pass a law to deprive Ireland of the trial by jury.

LISTS OF THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY,

On the 21. March, on Mr. T. Attwood's Motion,
 "That a Select Committee be appointed to
 "inquire into the Causes of the general
 "Distress existing among the Industrious
 "Classes of the United Kingdom, and into
 "the most effectual Means for its relief."

For the Committee (tellers included) 160
 Against ditto, with the Ministers... 194

Total number in the House.... 354
 Majority 34

MAJORITY.

Abercromby, Hon. J.	Clive, Hon. R. H.
Adam, Admiral	Codrington, Sir E.
Althorp, Viscount	Curteis, H.
Anson, Sir G.	Curteis, H. B.
Bannerman, A.	Dalrymple, Sir J. H.
Baring, A.	Dashwood, G. H.
Baring, F.	Davies, Lieut.-Col.
Baring, F. T.	Divett, E.
Barnard, E. G.	Donkin, Sir R. S.
Beaumont, T. W.	Dundas, Capt. D.
Benett, J.	Dundas, Hon. J. C.
Bentinck, Lord G. F. C.	Eastnor, Viscount
Bernal, R.	Elliot, Hon. Captain
Brougham, W.	Evans, W.
Brougham J.	Evans, G.
Bulwer, E. L.	Ewart, W.
Burton, H.	Fazakerley, J. N.
Bulsteel, J. C.	Ferguson, Gen. Sir R.
Buxton, T. F.	Fleming, Admiral
Browne, D.	Forester, Hon. G. C. W.
Burdett, Sir F.	Forster, C. S.
Carter J. B.	Foulkes, Sir M.
Campbell, Sir J.	Fitzgibbon, Hon. R.
Chapman, M. L.	Gaskell, J. M.
Chaytor, Sir W.	Gisborne, T.
Chetwynd, Capt. W. F.	Gladstone, W. E.
Chichester, Lord A.	Gore, M.
Clements, Lord	Grant, Rt. Hon. C.
Clive, E. B.	Grant, Rt. Hon. R.
Clive, Viscount	Graham, Sir J. R.

Grey, Hon. Colonel
Gronow, Capt. R. H.
Grote, G.
Halse, J.
Handley, W. F.
Harvey, D. W.
Hawes, B.
Heathcote, J.
Herries, Rt. Hon. J. C.
Hill, Lord A.
Hill, Lord M.
Hobhouse, Sir J. C.
Horné, Sir W.
Howard, Hon. F. G.
Ingestrie, Lord
Johnston, A.
Johnstone, Sir I. V.
Keane, Sir R.
Kennedy, T. F.
Lamb, Hon. G.
Lemon, Sir C.
Littleton, E. J.
Lock, J.
Lushington, Dr. S.
Maberley, Col. W. L.
Martin, J.
Martin, J.
Marsdale, T.
Maxwell, J. W.
Mildmay, P. St. J.
Milton, Viscount
Morrison, J.
Morpeth, Viscount
Mullins, F. W.
Murray, J. A.
Nicholl, J.
O'Callaghan, Hon. C.
Oliphant, L.
Ord, W. H.
Ormelie, Earl of
Oswald, J.
Palmerston, Viscount
Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir R.
Pelham, Hon. C. A. W.
Pendarves, E. W.
Perrin, L.
Petre, Hon. E.
Peter, W.
Pinney, W.
Phillips, M.
Ponsonby, Hon. W.
Potter, R.
Poulter, J.
Ricardo, D.
Rice, Hon. T. S.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Rider, T.
Romilly, E.
Romilly, J.
Robarts, A. W.
Rolfe, R. M.
Russell, Rt. Hon. Ld. J.
Russell, Lord C.
Sandon, Viscount
Sheil, R. L.
Sheppard, T.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, Hon. R. S.
Smith, R. V.
Stanley, Rt. Hon. E. G.
Stanley, Hon. H. T.
Stanley, E. J.
Stewart, Sir M. S.
Stewart, E.
Spencer, Hon. F.
Staunton, Sir G.
Strutt, E.
Stewart, R.
Tennet, J. E.
Thomson, Rt. Hon. C. P.
Todd, R.
Verney, Sir H.
Villiers, Viscount
Walter, J.
Warburton, H.
Ward, H. G.
Weyland, R.
Whitmore, W. W.
Willoughby, Sir H.
Wood, G. W.
Wood, C.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Wynn, Rt. Hon. C. W.
Wyndham, Wadham
Teller.
Duncaunon

The list appears to be incomplete.

MINORITY.

ENGLAND.

Aglionby, H. A.
Astley, Sir J.
Attwood, M.
Attwood, T.
Bainbridge, E. T.
Beauclerk, Major A.
Berkeley, Hon. C. F.
Bewes, T.
Biddulph, R. M.
Bish, T.
Blackstone, W. S.
Blake, Sir F.
Brigstrick, W. P.
Briggs, R.
Briscoe, J. I.
Brocklehurst, J.
Brodie, Captain
Bruce, Lord E.
Bulkeley, Sir R. W.
Calvert, N.
Cayley, Sir G.
Cayley, E. S.
Chandos, Marquis of
Chaplin, Colonel T.
Chichester, J. P. B.
Clayton, Col. W. R.
Cobbett, W.
Collier, J.
Cokes, T. H.
Dare, R. W. R.
Darlington, Earl of
Davenport, J.

Dawson, E. S.
Dilwyn, L. W.
Duncombe, Hon. W.
Egerton, W. T.
Etwall, R.
Faithful, G.
Fellowes, Hon. N.
Fenton, J.
Fenton, Captain L.
Feilden, W.
Feilden, J.
Fryer, R.
Guest, J. J.
Guise, Sir B. W.
Gully, J.
Hall, B.
Handley, H.
Harland, W. C.
Herbert, Hon. S.
Hodges, T. L.
Hoskins, K.
Hoy, J. B.
Hume, J.
Hyett, W. H.
Ingham, R.
James, W.
Kemp, T.
Knatchbull, Sir. E.
Lister, C.
Locke, W.
Lyon, Hon. Col. H. B.
Mahon, Viscount
Milis, J.
Norreys, Lord
Palmer, R.
Parker, J.
Parker, Sir H.
Parrott, J.
Pease, J.
Pigot, R.
Plumtre, J. P.
Pryme, G.
Rickford, W.
Rippon, C.
Robinson, G. R.
Russell, C.
Sanford, E. A.
Scholefield, J.
Seale, J. H.
Shawe, R. N.
Simeon, Sir R.
Skipwith, Sir G.
Stavely, J. K.
Tooke, W.
Torrens, Colonel
Townley, R. G.
Trelawney, W. L. S.
Trevor, Hon. R.
Turner, W.
Tynte, C. J. K.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Wigney, J. N.
Wilks, J.
Williams, Col. G.
Wilmot, Sir. J. E.
Windham, W. H.
Winnington, Sir T.
Walker, R.
Watkins, L. V.
Wason, R.
Watson, Hon. R.
Welby, G. E.
Yorke, Captain C. P.
Young, G. T.

SCOTLAND.

Arbuthnot, General
Colquhoun, J. C.
Dunlop, Captain J.
Ewing, J.
Ferguson, Captain
Gillon, W. D.
Gordon, Captain W.
Halliburton, Hon. D.
Hay, Sir J., Bart.
Hay, Colonel L.
Maxwell, Sir J.
Maxwell, J.
Oswald, R. A.
Ross, H.
Sharpe, General M.
Sinclair, G.
Wallace, R.

IRELAND.

Baldwin, Dr. H.
Barron, W.
Bateson, Sir R.
Bellew, R. M.
Butler, Hon. P.
Dobbs, C. R.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Finn, W. F.
Fitzgerald, T.
Fitzsimon, N.
Galway, J. M.
Hayes, Sir E.
Lalor, P.
Lambert, H.
Macnamara, Major
Martin, J.
Nagle, Sir R.
O'Brien, C.
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, M.
O'Connell, C.
O'Connell, J.
O'Connell, Morgan
O'Connor, F.
O'Dwyer, A. C.
Perceval, Colonel
Roche, W.
Roche, D.
Ruthven, E. S.
Ruthven, E.
Stewart, Sir H.
Talbot, J. H.
Talbot, J.
Vigors, N. A.
Walker, C. A.

Blandford, Marquis, locked out.

EXTRACT

FROM

Facts (founded upon Parliamentary Returns), illustrative of the great inequality of the Taxes on Houses and Windows, showing how unjustly and oppressively they bear upon the middle and industrious classes. — Dunn and Son, Fleet-street.

[Concluded from p. 820, No. 13.]

HERTFORD.

According to the official returns there are in this county

Each paying inhabited house-duty annually.

2 houses rated at 200l.	£28	6	8
5 150l.	21	5	0
2 110l.	15	11	8

The principal residences in this county are

Cashiobury Park—Earl of Essex
The Grove—Earl of Clarendon
Colney House—P. Haddon, Esq
Gorhambury—Earl of Verulam
Luton House—Marquis of Bute
Brocket Hall—Lord Melbourne
Hatfield House—Marquis of Salisbury.

Vast dimensions—park several miles, noble apartments : rated at 200l. per annum, and paying 28l. 6s. 8d. inhabited house-duty for this princely seat.

Stagenhoe Park—J. Carbonel, Esq.
Balls—Lord J. Townshend
Panshanger—Earl Cowper
Wood Hall Park—S. Smith, Esq.
Ashbridge Park—Countess of Bridgewater

In a park five miles in circumference.

Tythenhanger—Earl of Hardwicke
Sandon House—Lord Lovel
Hyde Hall—Lord Clanbrassil
Warren Wood—Lord Roseberry

Two noble Marquises,

Six noble Earls,

Four noble Lords,

rated as dwelling in houses stated to be of the value of two of 200l. five of 150l. two of 110l. per annum. Take Ludgate-hill, Cheapside, or Cornhill, from No. 1 to No. 12, we shall then find twelve inhabitant householders rated at a similar rate, probably in many instances higher? comparing the property of the twelve principal residents in

the county of Herts with that of the twelve metropolitan householders, the result will prove that where one pays one-twentieth of their annual income in direct taxation, the others do not pay one-hundredth part of their annual income; consequently, a most undue weight is thrown upon the springs of industrious exertion; no mode of taxation can be more thoroughly unequal in effect than the inhabited house-duty.

It has been urged in support of the inhabited house duty, that it is a "FAIR TAX;" that it is in fact a species of "PROPERTY TAX;" the parties supporting this fiscal measure, assuming that of course the rental or annual value of the dwelling represents the property of the several occupants. This is most obviously incorrect and unfounded, both in theory and practice, particularly as applying to the metropolis, and large manufacturing towns. Does the rental paid by traders, &c. in general represent their property? Can each of the many thousands whose dwellings throng the main and by-streets in this vast city, in Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, &c.—can the majority of these parties say, that they are respectively worth enough to purchase the freehold of their dwellings? and should they be in possession of property sufficient (after payment of all debts) to purchase the premises in their occupation, it would then be apparent that the inhabited house duty alone (to say nothing of the window-tax) is to them a property-tax of nearly fifteen pounds per cent. per annum on the annual value of their property. And if this is the case with those who could purchase their premises, how fares it with the tens of thousands whose struggles can scarcely make head against the stream, men of small capital and resources, but who are nevertheless compelled to dwell in houses from locality liable to a heavy rental, and consequently heavy taxation: is not the house-duty to such persons a property-tax, varying from fifteen pounds to thirty pounds and upwards per cent. per annum on the annual value of their property?

Reversing the picture—does the annual value of the dwellings occupied by the powerful and wealthy classes represent within reasonable bounds the value of the property of these classes? and what sort of a property-tax can that be, which varies between thirty pence, and thirty pounds per cent. per annum in the amount claimed from various individuals? Many have asserted, and with a great semblance of plausibility, that though the rate of taxation presses apparently heavily on the middle and industrious classes, yet it is not so in reality; the price and value of the various commodities, &c. which they respectively supply, being enhanced in value to the public from the pressure of taxation being so great. This may easily be answered; competition, in every thing, and on all sides, regulates and keeps down prices. And are we to take a certain payment against uncertain gains, a substance for a shadow? Who would feel satisfied with this answer? "I am compelled to charge" "a higher price than would be charged" "to you elsewhere, from the weight of" "taxation which presses more forcibly" "on me, in consequence of my premises being in a street in which the" "rate of taxation is very high." Who is there that does not purchase by price and quality, without reference to or regarding the burdens to which the seller is subjected, whether they be light or whether they be heavy? And should it be allowed that such is the case, that the house duty is paid by the purchaser and consumer in the end, we arrive at the confession, that the present house duty is both an income tax and a dwelling-house duty; that part which may be termed an income tax being levied exclusively on the middle and industrious classes from their precarious and uncertain gains; and is it not therefore, a tax on industry? If the annual earnings of industry are thus to be diminished by the payment of this tax, what is to prevent the extension of the same principle to the annual profits of all mines, companies, manufactories, and mercantile establishments throughout the kingdom; omitting any reference

to the annual value of all landed property, funded, &c. ?*

It must be perfectly clear, that a tax like that levied on inhabited houses, where from situation alone for particular purposes, a house of one tenth part of the dimensions and intrinsic value commands, though not as a dwelling, yet for the purposes of trade, a higher value in rental, cannot be just or fair—how can rental display the value of the dwellings of the different classes of society? Mere rental never can accomplish the most desirable effect of equalizing the weight of taxation; the value of a house varying from the situation, even more than from size. There would be no difficulty in finding magnificent and princely dwellings in any of the counties rated at a sum not exceeding that levied on houses in all respects infinitely inferior in value as dwellings in any of the densely crowded parts of the metropolis; dwellings which would not be considered fit for the residence of any person of independent property, though perfectly well adapted to the uses to which they are applied, and for which a most ample rent is paid by the tenant from his industry and exertions. It has been stated, certainly not without good reasons, that the complaints against the house and window duty (particularly the house duty) are not general, but confined principally to the metropolitan districts: the cause of this apparent apathy (if such exists), the Chancellor of the Exchequer fully answered, in stating, "that" "he was aware in the various counties," "houses worth three or four hundred" "pounds per annum were rated for" "taxation at thirty or forty pounds per" "annum each!" An assertion in which the noble Lord is most fully borne out, as will be apparent by the inspection of the returns for each county. In obedience to, and in the fulfilment of, the law, the inhabitants of the metropolis and large towns have been paying at (or

* Annual value of landed property:—England, 49,744,622*l.*; Wales, 2,153,801*l.*; Scotland, 6,625,655*l.*; total, 58,551,078*l.* Capital of funded property, 737,130,668*l.*; dividends thereon, 25,772,296*l.*

nearly at) the rate of two shillings and tenpence in the pound on the value of their dwellings, in which valuation has been included, as far as the trading classes are concerned, the heavy rental paid for their shops and warehouses; but it would appear, that this law, which ought to have been a just and equal law, applicable without deviation to all—this law, so plain and legible in some places, has been in others a withered and illegible scroll. Those who have paid threepence half-penny in the pound on the annual value of their dwellings instead of two [shillings and tenpence in the pound, as directed by the law of the land, have in truth no cause for complaint, neither would the metropolitan or any other householders, had they been taxed at the same rate: the repeal of the house and window duty would at once effect that, which the removal of indirect taxation has hitherto failed to accomplish, and relieve those who have been the greatest sufferers from oppressive and unequal taxation.

Thousands now pent up in lodgings would immediately take houses, and by so doing, lessen all parochial rates. Each of such fresh occupants of houses now empty and untenanted, must be purchasers to some extent of articles of British manufacture and industry, which would have remained uncalled for if they had continued lodgers; the beneficial and salutary effects caused by the removal of these oppressive imposts would speedily be visible in increased employment, diminution of poor-rates, and in a general diffusion of satisfaction and contentment amongst the most useful members of the community; in fact, a cheering feeling of renovation and strength throughout the entire social system.

London, February, 1833.

INTERESTING PROCEEDINGS

AT

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

(From the "True Sun" of 2. April).

FACTORY BILL.

MEETING AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

(From a Correspondent).

ON Monday last a requisition was presented to the Mayor, and his worship appointed a meeting to be held in the Guildhall, March 29, at two o'clock.

The requisition was signed by high Churchmen, Saints, Whigs, and Tories, whilst the appearance of a single Radical name was carefully avoided. The meeting, too, was appointed on the very day and at the very hour when the labouring class could not attend. The pathetic, tea-drinking saints, ready to struggle "to the death" for the liberation of the black slave, whilst they never show their faces or raise their voices against English or Irish despotism, thought this an excellent opportunity to deprive the truly liberal of their just merits, and gain to themselves by cant a name for liberality and humanity. The leaders of the Northern Political Union (immense and terrific, both from its numbers and its intellectual importance) were on the alert, and although the time was sort and everything unfavourable, determined to act their part, and issued a placard to the following effect:

"The Council deem this meeting to
"be of the greatest possible importance,
"not only to the labouring classes, but to
"the country at large, knowing as they
"do, that the passing of such a bill
"will ultimately tend to compel the
"removal of those enormous imposts
"which have driven both masters and
"workmen to the verge of ruin and
"starvation. The Council accordingly,
"approving heartily as they do of this
"object, and feeling that on the deci-
"sive nature of the manifestation of
"public feeling, especially on the part
"of the labouring classes, on this
"occasion, as well as on the pro-
"priety of the documents which
"they adopt, will essentially depend

"not only the abolition of this execrable system of *infant slavery*, but that of *English slavery altogether*, the Council therefore call on their associates and friends of the Northern Political Union to attend and *do their duty*."

The Union leaders were early in their attendance, and took up a commanding position near each other. On the magistrates' bench we observed the Rev. Mr. Hawkes, the Rev. J. Taylor, James Losh, Esq., Recorder, Robert Plummer, Esq., with other gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, as well as the Rev. G. S. Bull, of Bierley, Yorkshire, the eloquent advocate of the Ten-Hour Bill. The right worshipful the Mayor took the chair soon after two o'clock, and was slightly cheered.

His worship opened the business by stating to the meeting that he never felt greater delight in his life than in beholding so large an assemblage of the inhabitants as he witnessed on that occasion; yet, when he considered that humanity was the object for which they had met, it did not surprise him. They had met on an important occasion, and that was, to petition Parliament for the protection, health, and prosperity of the rising generation. He did not, in the observations he was about to make, charge the great bulk of the manufacturers with a want of humanity, for he was aware that was not the fact, as many took a lively interest in attending to the health and comfort of their infant charge; yet he might be allowed to suggest, that if classification were adopted, and a relief, by changing twice a day, effected, a great step would be gained in obtaining the completion of the measure the present meeting seemed so anxious to procure. He trusted that those who intended to go into the discussion of the question would act with moderation; as party contentions might defeat the object he hoped they all had in view—the amelioration of the infant population of the manufacturing districts. (Loud cheers).

Mr. THOMAS DOUBLEDAY immediately rose, and was greatly cheered. He said that although his name did not appear as one of the requisitionists, yet he could

assure the meeting that the fault did not rest with him, as he was friendly to the measure, but in those by whom it was got up; for he was connected in a commercial point of view with the clothing districts, and therefore felt individually interested in their prosperity, as well as in the welfare and comfort of the operatives. And although no one could doubt that distress to a frightful extent existed in the great manufacturing towns, yet in seeking justice for the many, we should take care to do injustice to none. He maintained that the cotton and woollen manufacturers were not the authors of the long and continued distress under which themselves and their operatives laboured, but that such distress arose from the acts of Government, from Peel's Bill, and the corn laws. (Loud cheers). In considering the details of the Factory Bill, he said if labour were decreased, a decrease in wages would assuredly follow. He held a paper in his hand, which had been drawn up by a gentleman intimately connected with the manufacturing districts (Mr. John Fielden, of Todmorden, Mr. Cobbett's colleague for Oldham), in which the sufferings of the poor weaver and his starving family were depicted in vivid but true colours, and in which it was stated, that while the hours of labour were increased to a length for which the physical powers of man were scarcely able to endure, the remuneration for such exertion had decreased in an equally alarming degree. But such a state of things could not exist. The increased use of machinery in all the manufacturing towns had tended to produce an immensity of goods, yet although employment was not complained of, the distress of the workmen was increased in an equal ratio. It therefore appeared to him the most effectual, and in short the only plan, was a speedy reduction of the national expenditure. (Cheers, and question). From 1815 to the present time they had been getting worse, which he attributed to Peel's Bill, which came into full activity in 1829, through the instrumentality of the Duke of Wellington, who did not know what he was doing. (Laughter).

This thus meas- tions to n adop calli natio curr in l ing M the sire purp tesy quis cons M chie on a tesy did ma hav call The con obl tes I cus of fav wh an the he gi sig da di D G w fel re w in no w se he

This had ruined the weaver. Having thus briefly stated his sentiments on the measure, he would pass to the resolutions which he should have the honour to move, upon which, if they were adopted, a petition would be founded, calling upon Parliament to reduce the national expenditure, and restore the currency to the state in which it existed in 1793. Mr. D. concluded by requesting that his resolutions might be read.

Mr. MAYOR objected, inasmuch as the meeting had been called at the desire of the requisitionists, for a specific purpose; and that, as a matter of courtesy, the resolutions prepared by the requisitionists ought to have priority of consideration.

Mr. DOUBLEDAY replied, that, as chief-magistrate, the chairman should on all occasions experience every courtesy from him. Although he (Mr. D.) did not sign the requisition, yet he maintained that his resolutions should have the precedence, unless he was called on by his worship to sit down. The conduct of the requisitionists, he contended, did not lay him under an obligation to treat them with any courtesy extraordinary.

Mr. MAYOR, after some further discussion, determined to take the sense of the meeting, which evidently was in favour of Mr. Doubleday's resolutions; when

JAMES LOSH, Esq. the recorder, rose and observed, that he knew no more of the requisition than Mr. Doubleday, but hearing that a requisition had been originated, he found out where it was, signed it with pleasure, and Mr. Doubleday might have done the same. He disavowed all want of courtesy to Mr. Doubleday on his part.

The Rev. W. HAWES, rector of Gateshead Pell, said that although he was one of the requisitionists, yet he felt no repugnance to Mr. Doubleday's resolutions having precedence; and he was happy that they had his assistance in the good work. (The resolutions had not then been read). It was not the work of party, but a labour in which all sects and parties heartily joined, in the hope that their united exertions would

secure the object for which they had assembled. If politics were introduced, the termination might be different; as he was not aware that either the currency or the corn laws were thought of by the requisitionists. All they intended and prayed for was, a sound and vigorous population, every one healthy and happy—men like our forefathers. (Long and enthusiastic cheering, in which the Unionists joined).

Mr. DOUBLEDAY, in reply, stated that the rev. gentleman had been reasoning on air—(No, no)—and not on the arguments he had advanced in submitting the resolutions for the adoption of the meeting.

Mr. JOHN FIFE rose to second the resolutions of his friend Mr. Doubleday.

Mr. JOHN BROWN, the deputy town clerk, by request, then read the resolutions. The having it presented by Mr. Cobbett was received with long and loud cheering, and the having it signed by the Tory mayor and town clerk, with immense laughter.

Mr. JOHN FIFE again rose to second the resolutions that had just been read, and adverting to the term "courtesy," which had been used in an early part of the discussion, said that instances had occurred not only in that hall, but in other parts of the town, of the chairman having unceremoniously left the meeting over which he had been called upon to preside, to avoid the adoption of any resolution, not in accordance with his own opinion or those of his friends. (Loud laughter and cheers).

Mr. MAYOR called for an explanation, as he was so often called on to fill the office he at present held, and as the imputation did not apply to him. (Hear).

Mr. FIFE said it was the wish of his friends to have the signature of their respected chairman to the petition that had been drawn up, and which would be read in due time. Thus was the motive explained. (A laugh).

The worthy chairman seeming satisfied with the explanation.

Mr. FIFE proceeded to contend that it was to the grasping and overbearing aristocracy, that all the ills they had met to discuss, owed their origin; and

such being the fact, he heartily concurred in all that had been said by Mr. Doubleday, as well as in the facts and arguments embodied in the resolutions; and he was prepared to maintain the same; such were his reasons for supporting the resolutions.

The Rev. Mr. BULL then presented himself, and said that as he was an entire stranger, it was only by permission of the chairman that he could address them; and if he obtained that permission, he should proceed. (Cries of "Go on," and cheers). He had, for the last seven years, resided and officiated as a clergyman in the manufacturing districts, and he was perfectly acquainted with the distresses and sufferings of the useful class of individuals that inhabited those districts. He agreed with many of the observations advanced by Mr. Doubleday, but he could not concur in the assertion that the manufacturers were not to be blamed in any degree, as many of the ills that factory children were doomed to suffer, might be attributed to the harshness of their employers. He was also of opinion that deep research ought to be made in order to effect a mitigation of the dreadful evils to which children employed in factories were subjected; but yet he thought that Mr. Doubleday had only glanced at, instead of fully entering into, the question. The speaker next adverted to Mr. Fielden, M.P. for Oldham, whom he represented as one of the largest manufacturers, as also one of the most intelligent men in England; and he was proud to add, that that gentleman, fully alive to the importance of the interesting question they were then assembled to discuss, had agreed to second the motion of Lord Ashley in the House of Commons, on the second reading of the Factory Bill. (Hear, hear). He had also to state, that Mr. Cobbett had agreed to pin his faith to that of his colleague, Mr. Fielden; and Mr. O'Connell, to whose eloquence in this cause, he (Mr. Bull) had had the pleasure of listening in London, was also anxious that the question should not be mixed up with any other subject. America had been referred to by Mr. Doubleday; and that gentleman

was aware that taxation to any extent did not exist in that country,—in fact, he believed that country had paid off its national debt—(hear, hear)—and yet he could state on the best authority, that longer hours were demanded by the manufacturers in that land of freedom, than in this country. Since the question had been mooted here, it had been taken up in the United States, where it was argued that excessive labour was requisite and necessary, to enable them to compete with their rivals in the market. In England, Mr. Bull observed, that for the last seven years the length of hours had increased, and wages decreased. He then, in eloquent terms, pointed out the religious and moral blessings that would attend the passing of the Ten-Hour Bill. Many of the master manufacturers were with the advocates for the bill, and they allowed that less labour would not abridge wages. But he would ask, how can manufacturers, if they cannot pay wages, erect the splendid mansions they inhabit? Do they get the builders to work without pay? or even the land and splendid parks, where all these improvements are carried into effect in such a magnificent style? He presumed not. He, therefore, fearlessly maintained that better wages could be afforded; for it was evident that the labouring infants assisted and aided in rearing those splendid mansions. (Loud cheers). He had at one time intended to have entered into a detail of the population of the manufacturing districts, their several employments, and the amount of remuneration—scanty remuneration received by all classes, but it would occupy too much time on the present occasion. (Cries "Go on"). Instead of doing so he would content himself by stating, that he had, in a former period of his life, been a zealous advocate for the abolition of negro slavery, and he should for ever be ashamed of himself, he should be the most disgraceful hypocrite, if he expended all his sympathies upon foreign objects of compassion, and did not advocate as heartily and as zealously the cause of the poor infants in the manufacturing districts at

home. He should lament if the great and opulent town of Newcastle, by its proceedings that day, in mixing up other matters foreign to the subject, should mar the object they had assembled to carry into effect; and he could assert, if such should prove the fact, that it would deeply injure the cause they had intended to serve. (Cries of No, no, and cheers). Mr. Cobbett took the same view of the question, as did Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Fielden, while all three deprecated its being made a political or party question. It was one of genuine and unsullied philanthropy, of pure humanity. (Loud cheers). But he could not for one instant suppose that the mover and seconder of the resolutions intended the question not to be treated on its own merits, and on those only. He had to state that he had, as an advocate in the cause, attended public meetings in most of the large towns in England, and that was during the discussion of the Reform Bill, as well as meetings in the great manufacturing towns of Glasgow, Paisley, and Dundee, as also of others of minor note in Scotland, and at not one of these meetings, all numerous attended by the working classes, was the question of politics attempted to be introduced. (Hear, hear). When it was taken into consideration that this question had met with general support by those most deeply interested, and the intense interest it excited in all parts of the kingdom, he trusted that, although a stranger, he might be allowed to press upon the gentleman (Mr. Doubleday) the propriety of withdrawing his string of resolutions, and of allowing him to introduce his amendment. The rev. Gentleman concluded an eloquent address by moving an amendment, and sat down amidst loud and vehement cheering.

JAMES LOSH, Esq., had great pleasure in seconding the amendment of the rev. Gentleman, and hoped it would receive the unanimous decision of the meeting, especially after the truly eloquent address they had just heard with such unmingled admiration. Having said thus much, he might justly add, that if such conduct as that which had

been attempted to be forced on the meeting were to be allowed, he should say that no business could be done. He admitted that the evils of the country had originated in misgovernment, and then entered into an argument to refute the positions of Messrs. Doubleday and Fife, and expressed a doubt whether any two of the opposing gentlemen perfectly agreed upon any one subject. (A laugh). He had, he believed, met those gentlemen somewhere. (Continued laughter and "Question"). He begged pardon; he thought he had been making a speech; if not, and it was their pleasure, he would sit down. (Cries of Go on). They had not met to discuss political subjects, many of which had been introduced, which perhaps none of them understood (a laugh); and if the meeting did not agree on the subject for which it had been distinctly convened, they would most assuredly make themselves a laughing-stock to the public. A great deal had been urged by the supporters of the resolutions in favour of the objects of the meeting, but he believed sinister intentions might be concealed under various forms. He believed it possible, without imputing improper motives, that there might be a wish to obtain a triumph on this occasion. He had no objection to discuss any public question as to the state of the country with the gentlemen if they chose to do so, but this, he again asserted, was not the time, as they had met on the present occasion for a specific purpose. As to the petition that had been proposed, it would be ridiculous to think of it. Perhaps the gentlemen might have a majority in the hall; if so, the question would be lost, so far as regarded Newcastle. He agreed that it was a matter of extreme delicacy to legislate between masters and servants, but expressed an opinion that the present case was one that rendered such a step justifiable. The learned Gentleman concluded by seconding the amendment.

CHAS. ATTWOOD, Esq., rose to support the resolutions of his friend, Mr. Doubleday, and to propose a petition founded upon them, he having vindi-

cated himself from a charge of want of courtesy, perfectly to his satisfaction. Mr. Fife had said, that the oppression of the poor originated in the grasping avarice of the aristocracy, a sentiment in which he heartily concurred; although he must admit, that he wished it to have been modified—

Mr. Losh: I beg pardon, but I wish to go, I have—

Mr. Attwood said, that he had some observations to make on what had been stated by the learned Gentleman, and he wished that he could remain, in order that he (Mr. Attwood) might not be misrepresented in what he might say.

Mr. Losh resumed his seat.

Mr. Attwood proceeded. He said that Mr. Losh had asserted that the evils of the country had originated in misgovernment, and also that education would, in due time, remove those evils. To this he begged to dissent, as also to the assertion, that a misunderstanding might possibly exist between his friend, Mr. Doubleday, and himself. But he assured the learned Gentleman they agreed as well, as, he was sorry to add, the Whigs and Tories. Mr. Attwood proceeded to read various extracts from the speech of Mr. Losh, and commented as he went on, with great warmth and animation, and added, that they had met, not to petition for factory children only, but to point out to our legislators the causes of the present unparalleled distress. It had been said that we could do no good by mixing up politics with the subject for which the meeting had been called. To which he answered, let us try; he should say, let us speak a little plainer, and we may triumph.

Mr. Losh: You may triumph over me: only don't abuse me. (Laughter).

The Rev. Mr. Hawks attempted to address the meeting, but was hooted down by the unionists.

Mr. Losh: I am charged with being the tool of a party, which is untrue; therefore, if you wish to refer to me, speak to facts.

Mr. Attwood insisted that he had not used the word "triumph" in the sense in which the learned Gentleman seemed to interpret it.

A long and desultory conversation followed, in which Mr. Losh agreed that the offensive word had not been used in the way he supposed.

Mr. Attwood continued. He said he disclaimed to triumph over any person; they had met to seek an object which he thought they could attain, and that was the cause of helpless infant children. It was very probable that the House of Commons would not receive their petition; yet its rejection would do good on a future day. In the delicacy of any interference between master and servant, he perfectly agreed with Mr. Losh; having stated thus much, he had only to add, that if it pleased the learned Gentleman, he might withdraw.

Mr. Losh then rose, and left the bench.

Mr. Attwood then resumed, and commented at considerable length on the eloquent speech of the Rev. Mr. Bull, with the statements in most parts of which he perfectly agreed. He could speak from personal knowledge that the rev. Gentleman, in describing himself a friend of the poor, had only stated what was correct. He paid a well-merited tribute to Mr. Sadler, who, he said, "was one of the best and most talented men that sat in the late House of Commons, and was not excelled by any man in the present House of Commons." Mr. A. next levelled his artillery at the sinecurists, great officers of state with no employment, and the tax-eaters, all of whom were, he maintained, upheld by the sweat of the labourer; yet he was sure that the labourer was worthy of his hire. The unanimity of the operatives in the large towns in Scotland with regard to the Factory Bill, as stated by the rev. Gentleman, was no guide to the inhabitants of this town, who were capable of judging for themselves; and he maintained that the proceedings of himself and friends could facilitate the liberation of the poor factory children; but, if not, they would assemble again, and pass a series of resolutions and a petition, without allusion to any other subject. Mr. Attwood concluded by requesting that the petition he held in

his hand be read, and strongly recommended its adoption by the meeting.

Mr. MAYOR next rose and said, that before the petition was read, he begged to protest against the proceedings of the day. When the requisition was presented to him, and he was informed humanity was the sole object, he instantly agreed to convene the present meeting; had he been aware other subjects were to be introduced into the discussion, he should certainly have taken a day or two to consider the subject, and consult his friends before he had called this meeting. (Oh, oh.) He, however, would not object to the petition being read.

The petition was then read by Mr. Brown.

The Rev. Mr. BULL rose and said, he did not doubt but that Mr. Attwood and his friends supported the bill with all their hearts—he could not doubt it; but he might add, that at the great meeting in London, persons of all political grades, joined in agreeing that a line of neutral ground should be marked out, on which they might all meet, in order to attain the object all classes had so much at heart. Admitting that the tax-eater had distressed the poor manufacturer, yet he avowed that the monopolist had done so too, and in an equal degree, and who got the profit?

Some one in the hall—The parsons! (Laughter).

The Rev. Mr. BULL—The parsons! Well, I shall tell you what I get very soon. The rev. Gentleman then proceeded. He said the monopolist was in a great measure to blame. Where was the industrious little master manufacturer now? Why, working sixteen hours a day, and all owing, he could vouch for it, to the great monopolist. There were also persons who lay in bed all day, and caroused all night, from the labours of their own offspring, whose cause they had assembled to advocate. The late Sir Robert Peel, but not till he had feathered his own nest, was the first to propose a legislative enactment in behalf of children employed in factories, and he was well acquainted with the suffering of that hapless race. He hoped

the meeting would furnish him with some other document than the laboured petition they had just heard read; or what would the mothers of the little sufferers say to him on his return to Yorkshire, if he informed them that they had to wait till the currency, retrenchment, and the corn laws (hisses), were to be discussed, before the cause of their children was to be taken into consideration!

The Rev. WILLIAM HAWKS contended that it was impossible to adopt the resolutions and petition of Messrs. Doubleday and Attwood.

A conversation between the Rev. Mr. Bull and Mr. Attwood followed, during which the latter again passed a high eulogium on Mr. Sadler; and added, that it gave him great pain to oppose the rev. Gentleman on the present occasion.

The Rev. Mr. BULL said, if they sent the petition recently read, to Parliament, so far as regarded factory children, it would do harm. It would give the enemies of the bill an excellent handle, of which they could not fail to take advantage. He then proposed a resolution, which was declared to be an insult to the meeting. It was received with all the scorn possible.

Mr. ATTWOOD said, that he had no objection to insert a specific clause in the petition, in favour of the Ten-Hour Bill.

The Rev. JAMES PRINGLE followed. He argued strongly in favour of the bill, and urged that Mr. Attwood and his friends should at some future time meet, discuss, and adopt their own measures.

Mr. JOHN FIFE, from the prisoners' box, replied to the sophisms of the Rev. Mr. Pringle, and was loudly cheered. He had heard with pleasure the sentiments of Mr. Bull, but with some of the observations he could not agree. It had been said we lived in a Christian country. Look around, and you will see the cottage desolated, to add to the splendour of the castle; the rich impose laws to make themselves richer and the poor poorer; and it was the aristocracy,

and the aristocracy only, that were to blame.

Mr. JONATHAN PRIESTMAN moved that the petition agreed on by the requisitionists be read; which having been done,

Mr. T. M. GREENHOW, in a brief address, seconded it.

Mr. MAYOR now proceeded to take the sense of the meeting on the resolutions moved by the opposing parties, and premised that although he was a Tory, he was, and ever had been, a friend to freedom of speech. A show of hands was then taken, and a great majority of the meeting having decided in favour of the resolutions and petition proposed by Messrs. Doubleday and Attwood, the Mayor said, "the meeting is dissolved." Several voices exclaimed, "Sign the petition." His worship replied: I cannot. If I do, to use a sporting term, you will have trapped the mare. He said, too, that the town-clerk was out of town, he believed. This was denied, as he was seen only a few minutes before in the hall.

Mr. ATTWOOD then proposed that Messrs. Fife and Doubleday sign the petition, instead of the mayor and town-clerk.

Mr. MAYOR said that he did not think that would be consistent.

Mr. FIFE asserted that the Mayor could not dissolve the meeting without the sanction of a majority.

A tumultuous discussion ensued, in which Mr. Fife and others took a part, during which Mr. Mayor retired, accompanied by his friends, amidst the greatest hisses, groans, and yells.

Mr. FIFE was then called to the chair, amidst loud cheering, and requested to sign the petition as the organ of the meeting, to which also Mr. Doubleday was requested to add his signature.

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Fife, as chairman, and the meeting separated at six o'clock.

Thus the unionists by a *ruse* defeated the combined factions.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

ABRAHAM, W., Fareham, Hampshire, china-dealer.

WOODHOUSE, T., jun., Milk-street, cheap-side, hosier.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

RICH, G., Curzon-street, May-fair, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

ASTBURY, J., and S. Davison, Eccleshall and Stone, Staffordshire, brewers.

BOURCHIER, E. M. and S. Bonsor, Oxford-street, tallow-chandlers.

BREEDS, B., Hastings, Sussex, lime-burner.

FAIRBURN, J., Castleford, Yorkshire, grocer.

FRASER, D., Pulteney-terrace, ship-owner.

GREIG, A. M., Great St. Helen's, Bishops-gate-street, wine-merchant.

MARDON, J., Euston-place, Euston-square, saddler.

MORRIS, J., Cheltenham, baker.

NATHAN, M., Skinner-place, Size-lane, stationer.

NELL, R., Grantham, Lincolnshire, book-seller.

PRESTON, F., St. George's-place, Hanover-square, and Sloane-street, Chelsea, confectioner.

SMITH, W., Lymington, Hampshire, surgeon.

STAINBANK, J. D., Honiton, Devonshire, grocer.

TIPLER, W., Banbury, Oxfordshire, currier.

TOWERS, J., Strand, insurance-broker.

WHITE, J., Newark-upon-Trent, victualler.

YORKE, W., Cirencester, Gloucestershire, ironmonger.

TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 1833,

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BYERS, G., Pall-mall, hatter.

LUPTON, J., and J. Hudson, Wakefield, wool-agents.

BANKRUPTS.

ATTREE, J., Brighton, grocer.

BAREHEAD, G., New Malton, Yorkshire, corn-merchant.

CHARLESWORTH, J., Halifax, merchant.

CURTIS, R., Warrington, Lancashire, tanner.

MATCHITT, J., and R. J. Matchitt, Derby, grocers.

MEEK, J., late of the Lyceum Tavern, Strand, spirit-merchant.

METCALF, C., Leeds, common-brewer.

SLATER, J., and W. Slater, Strand, wax and tallow-chandlers.

STEVENS, S., Brierley-hill, Staffordshire, builder.

WATKINSON, T., Liverpool, tobacco-nist.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

JAMIESON, R., Glasgow, wright.
 JOHNSTONE, J. Glasgow, hatter.
 ROBINSON, W. E., and W. Cowan, Borrow-
 stowness, corn-merchants.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 1.—
 The supplies from the home counties fresh up
 to this morning's market were but moderate,
 and the condition generally improved. The
 trade opened dull, and continued so through-
 out the day. The better descriptions of Kent-
 ish and Essex corn moved off hand at a decline
 of 1s. per quarter from the currency of this
 day se'nnight, and the secondary and inferior
 parcels at a reduction of full 2s., and the
 business transacting at these rates very
 limited. Old foreign and free native Wheat,
 owing to its scarcity, continued tolerably
 steady in value. In bonded qualities we heard
 of no actual sales being effected, although
 some little inquiry still existed.

A good many parcels of Barley having
 remained over from Friday's market, added
 to a good supply this morning, caused the
 stands to exhibit a full show of samples.
 Although bright malting qualities continued
 scarce, yet sales could not be effected unless
 at a decline of 1s. per quarter, and stained, as
 well as distilling and grinding descriptions,
 were difficult to quit at the same reduction.

Superior samples of Malt are saleable at
 our quotations, but other descriptions meet
 little or no attention.

Oats this morning were in moderate supply,
 although a good many were left on hand at
 the close of last week, the trade ruled heavy,
 and the article experienced very languid sale
 at Monday's currency.

Beans commanded the terms of this day
 week, and old qualities were scarce.

Peas in limited request, and unaltered in
 value.

Flour heavy sale, and Irish dull, at 40s. to
 41s. per sack.

Wheat	54s. to 63s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	30s. to 34s.
Peas, White	30s. to 32s.
— Boilers	36s. to —s.
— Grey	28s. to 29s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	27s. to 29s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	13s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 38s. to 40s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 40s. to 43s.
Pork, India, new ... 117s. 6d. to —s.
— Mess, new ... 67s. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... 72s. to 74s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 66s. to 76s.
— Cork ... 70s. to 72s.
— Limerick ... 68s. to 70s.
— Waterford ... 60s. to 66s.
— Dublin ... 52s. to 60s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 74s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 48s. to 52s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 48s. to 52s.
— Edam ... 40s. to 50s.
— Gouda ... 40s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ... 44s. to 54s.

SMITHFIELD.—April 1.

This day's supply of Beasts and Lambs was
 moderately good; of Sheep, Calves, and
 Porkers, rather limited. Trade was, with
 each kind of meat, dull. With Beef, Mutton,
 and Lamb, at a depression of full 2d. per
 stone; with Veal and Pork at barely Friday's
 quotations.

The beasts consisted of about equal numbers
 of short-horns, Devons, Scots, Norfolk home-
 bred, and Welsh runts, chiefly (say at least
 1,800 of them) from Norfolk, with a few from
 Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northampton-
 shire, and our western districts; about 200
 Herefords, as many half-fat Irish, and about
 100 Sussex Beasts, from Buckinghamshire,
 Kent, Sussex, and various quarters; with
 about 150 Town's end Cows, a few Staf-
 fords, &c.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new
 Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced
 crosses, in the proportion of two of the former
 to five of the latter; about an eighth South
 Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal
 numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and
 polled Norfolks, with a few old Leicesters
 and Lincolns, horned Dorsets, horned and
 polled Scotch and Welsh sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 4.

The arrivals this week are good. The mar-
 ket dull, with the prices rather lower than on
 Monday.

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